

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT JEFF. DAVIS.

Gentlemen of the Congress:

It is my pleasing duty to announce to you that the Constitution framed for the establishment of a permanent government for the Confederate States has been ratified by Conventions in each of these States to which it was referred. To inaugurate the government in its full proportions and upon its own substantial basis of the popular will, it only remains that elections should be held for the designation of the officers to administer it.

There is every reason to believe that at no distant day other States identified in political principles and community of interests with those which you represent, will join this Confederacy; giving to its typical constitution increased splendor—to its government of free, equal and sovereign States, a wider sphere of usefulness, and to the friends of constitutional liberty a greater security for its harmonious and perpetual existence.

It is not, however, for the purpose of making this announcement that I have deemed it my duty to convene you at an earlier day than that fixed by yourselves for your meeting. The declaration of war against the Confederacy by Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States in his Proclamation issued on the fifteenth day of the present month, rendered it necessary, in my judgment, that you should convene at the earliest practicable moment, to devise the measures necessary for the defence of the country.

The occasion is indeed an extraordinary one. It is the first time in the history of the Republic, heretofore existing between us and the States which now unite in warfare against us, and in a sacred sentiment of the events which have resulted in this warfare; to the end that mankind may pass intelligent and impartial judgment on its motives and objects.

During the war waged against Great Britain by her colonies on this continent, a common danger impelled them to close alliance, and to the formation of a Confederation, by the terms of which the colonies, styling themselves States, entered "generally into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties and the promotion of their general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to or attacks made upon them or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade or any other pretence whatsoever."

In order to guard against any misconception of their contract the several States made explicit declaration, in a distinct article that "each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

Under this contract of alliance, the war of the Revolution was successfully waged, and resulted in a treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, by the terms of which the several States were each by name, recognized to be independent.

The articles of confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations were prohibited, unless confirmed by the Legislature of every State, after being agreed to by nine States, and in accordance to this provision, under the resolution of Congress of the 21st February, 1787, the several States appointed delegates, who attended a Convention "for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the confederation more efficacious to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union."

It was, by the delegates chosen by the several States, under the resolution just quoted, that the Constitution of the United States was framed in 1787, and submitted to the several States for ratification, as shown by the 7th article, which is in these words:

"The ratification of the Convention of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

It is a well known fact that the States which have ratified certain words in the quotations just made, for the purpose of attracting attention to the singular and marked character with which the States endeavored, in every possible form, to exclude the idea that the States were independent and sovereign of each State was merged into one common government and nation; and the earnest desire they evinced to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a compact between independent States.

The Constitution of 1787 having, however, omitted the clause already recited from the articles of confederation, which provided, in explicit terms, that each State retained its sovereignty and independence, some alarm was felt in the States when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principle and they refused to ratify until amendments were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation, by the States, of all their sovereign rights and powers; not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange indeed must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true, that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent in the minds of the people of the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government thus formed was not a compact between States, but was in effect a National Government, set up above and over the States, and having no other basis than the will of the majority.

The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive attention was directed to the early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render the common government subservient to their own purposes, by imposing burdensome and arbitrary taxes, and by the exercise of a power of taxation and appropriation to their manufacturing and shipping interests. Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other. And the danger of disruption arising from these causes was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing by immigration and other causes in a greater ratio than the population of the South.

By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, they taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as a majority to govern the minority without control; they learned to acquiesce in the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will; and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind, that in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts as an axiom, which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires that in all cases the majority shall govern; and that the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between a State and the United States to those which exist between a country and the State in which it is situated; and by which it is governed by law. This lamentable and fundamental error on which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

In addition to the long continued and deep seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping interests of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interest of such momentous importance, as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union, that its permanence was impossible.

When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the thirteen States, negro slavery existed and the right of property in slave was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave. The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa

was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date; and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress authorizing it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment or disadvantage of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the government.

The climate and soil of the Northern States proved unpropitious to the culture of the slave labor, whilst the converse was the case at the South. Under the unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections, the Northern States consulted their own interest by selling their slaves to the Southern States, and the Southern States, in turn, purchased of the Northern States, and paid the price of the acquisition without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by the action of the Northern States, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

As soon, however, as the Northern States prohibited African slavery within their limits had reached a number sufficient to give their representatives a controlling voice in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostility against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated, and gradually extended. A continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves; financial organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and insubordination, and inducing their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to rebellion; the constitutionality of their action to their owners was first evaded, then pronounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty; men were taught it was a merit to elude, disobey and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the premises of the slaveholders contained in the constitutional compact; owners of slaves were mobbed, and even murdered in open day, solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave; the property of these violent organizations obtained control of the legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed providing for the punishment by ruinous fines and long confinement in jails and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare to ask aid of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property.

Emboldened by success, the theatre of agitation and aggression against the slave States was transferred to the Congress; Senators and Representatives were sent to the National Councils of the nation, and the members of these bodies consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was, not to promote the general welfare or ensure domestic tranquility, but to awaken sectional animosity, and to excite the passions of the States by violent denunciations of their institutions; the transaction of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those States which held slaves to a condition of inferiority.

Finally a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, and the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain, acquired by all the States in the Union, and the exclusion of the slave States from the exercise of the right of suffrage, and surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited; and thus tendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and their value reduced to a few thousands of dollars.

This party, this party, this party, succeeded in the month of November last, in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

In the meantime, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care and attention for the well being and comfort of the laboring class, dictated alike by the principles of justice and humanity, and the necessities of the States, the number of slaves had augmented in number from about 600,000, at the date of the adoption of the constitution, to upwards of 4,000,000. The moral and social conditions which have been evolved from brutal savages into docile, intelligent and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts, but with careful instruction in the principles of religion and civility.

Under the supervision of a superior race, their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of the condition of the slaves, but to convert hundreds of thousands of the most degraded and ignorant of cultivated lands, covered with a prosperous people; towns and cities had sprung into existence, and had rapidly increased in wealth and population; the States of the South, the white population of the Southern slaveholding States had augmented from about 2,500,000 at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, to more than 8,500,000 in 1860; and the States of the South, by the production of rice, sugar and tobacco, for the development and continuance of which the labor of American slaves was, and is, indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three fourths of the exports of the United States, and became absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized men.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude, it is not surprising that the Southern States were driven, by the conduct of the North, to the adoption of some course of action to avert the danger with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the Southern States, in 1845, and 1846, were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation, by the States, of all their sovereign rights and powers; not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange indeed must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true, that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent in the minds of the people of the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government thus formed was not a compact between States, but was in effect a National Government, set up above and over the States, and having no other basis than the will of the majority.

The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive attention was directed to the early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render the common government subservient to their own purposes, by imposing burdensome and arbitrary taxes, and by the exercise of a power of taxation and appropriation to their manufacturing and shipping interests. Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other. And the danger of disruption arising from these causes was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing by immigration and other causes in a greater ratio than the population of the South.

By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, they taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as a majority to govern the minority without control; they learned to acquiesce in the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will; and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind, that in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts as an axiom, which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires that in all cases the majority shall govern; and that the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between a State and the United States to those which exist between a country and the State in which it is situated; and by which it is governed by law. This lamentable and fundamental error on which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

In addition to the long continued and deep seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping interests of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interest of such momentous importance, as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union, that its permanence was impossible.

When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the thirteen States, negro slavery existed and the right of property in slave was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave. The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa

was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date; and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress authorizing it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment or disadvantage of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the government.

The climate and soil of the Northern States proved unpropitious to the culture of the slave labor, whilst the converse was the case at the South. Under the unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections, the Northern States consulted their own interest by selling their slaves to the Southern States, and the Southern States, in turn, purchased of the Northern States, and paid the price of the acquisition without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by the action of the Northern States, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

As soon, however, as the Northern States prohibited African slavery within their limits had reached a number sufficient to give their representatives a controlling voice in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostility against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated, and gradually extended. A continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves; financial organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and insubordination, and inducing their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to rebellion; the constitutionality of their action to their owners was first evaded, then pronounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty; men were taught it was a merit to elude, disobey and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the premises of the slaveholders contained in the constitutional compact; owners of slaves were mobbed, and even murdered in open day, solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave; the property of these violent organizations obtained control of the legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed providing for the punishment by ruinous fines and long confinement in jails and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare to ask aid of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property.

Emboldened by success, the theatre of agitation and aggression against the slave States was transferred to the Congress; Senators and Representatives were sent to the National Councils of the nation, and the members of these bodies consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was, not to promote the general welfare or ensure domestic tranquility, but to awaken sectional animosity, and to excite the passions of the States by violent denunciations of their institutions; the transaction of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those States which held slaves to a condition of inferiority.

Finally a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, and the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain, acquired by all the States in the Union, and the exclusion of the slave States from the exercise of the right of suffrage, and surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited; and thus tendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and their value reduced to a few thousands of dollars.

This party, this party, this party, succeeded in the month of November last, in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

In the meantime, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care and attention for the well being and comfort of the laboring class, dictated alike by the principles of justice and humanity, and the necessities of the States, the number of slaves had augmented in number from about 600,000, at the date of the adoption of the constitution, to upwards of 4,000,000. The moral and social conditions which have been evolved from brutal savages into docile, intelligent and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts, but with careful instruction in the principles of religion and civility.

Under the supervision of a superior race, their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of the condition of the slaves, but to convert hundreds of thousands of the most degraded and ignorant of cultivated lands, covered with a prosperous people; towns and cities had sprung into existence, and had rapidly increased in wealth and population; the States of the South, the white population of the Southern slaveholding States had augmented from about 2,500,000 at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, to more than 8,500,000 in 1860; and the States of the South, by the production of rice, sugar and tobacco, for the development and continuance of which the labor of American slaves was, and is, indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three fourths of the exports of the United States, and became absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized men.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude, it is not surprising that the Southern States were driven, by the conduct of the North, to the adoption of some course of action to avert the danger with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the Southern States, in 1845, and 1846, were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation, by the States, of all their sovereign rights and powers; not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange indeed must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true, that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent in the minds of the people of the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government thus formed was not a compact between States, but was in effect a National Government, set up above and over the States, and having no other basis than the will of the majority.

The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive attention was directed to the early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render the common government subservient to their own purposes, by imposing burdensome and arbitrary taxes, and by the exercise of a power of taxation and appropriation to their manufacturing and shipping interests. Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other. And the danger of disruption arising from these causes was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing by immigration and other causes in a greater ratio than the population of the South.

By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, they taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as a majority to govern the minority without control; they learned to acquiesce in the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will; and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind, that in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts as an axiom, which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires that in all cases the majority shall govern; and that the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between a State and the United States to those which exist between a country and the State in which it is situated; and by which it is governed by law. This lamentable and fundamental error on which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

In addition to the long continued and deep seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping interests of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interest of such momentous importance, as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union, that its permanence was impossible.

When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the thirteen States, negro slavery existed and the right of property in slave was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave. The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa

was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date; and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress authorizing it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment or disadvantage of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the government.

The climate and soil of the Northern States proved unpropitious to the culture of the slave labor, whilst the converse was the case at the South. Under the unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections, the Northern States consulted their own interest by selling their slaves to the Southern States, and the Southern States, in turn, purchased of the Northern States, and paid the price of the acquisition without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by the action of the Northern States, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

As soon, however, as the Northern States prohibited African slavery within their limits had reached a number sufficient to give their representatives a controlling voice in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostility against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated, and gradually extended. A continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves; financial organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and insubordination, and inducing their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to rebellion; the constitutionality of their action to their owners was first evaded, then pronounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty; men were taught it was a merit to elude, disobey and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the premises of the slaveholders contained in the constitutional compact; owners of slaves were mobbed, and even murdered in open day, solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave; the property of these violent organizations obtained control of the legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed providing for the punishment by ruinous fines and long confinement in jails and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare to ask aid of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property.

Emboldened by success, the theatre of agitation and aggression against the slave States was transferred to the Congress; Senators and Representatives were sent to the National Councils of the nation, and the members of these bodies consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was, not to promote the general welfare or ensure domestic tranquility, but to awaken sectional animosity, and to excite the passions of the States by violent denunciations of their institutions; the transaction of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those States which held slaves to a condition of inferiority.

Finally a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, and the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain, acquired by all the States in the Union, and the exclusion of the slave States from the exercise of the right of suffrage, and surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited; and thus tendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and their value reduced to a few thousands of dollars.

This party, this party, this party, succeeded in the month of November last, in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

In the meantime, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care and attention for the well being and comfort of the laboring class, dictated alike by the principles of justice and humanity, and the necessities of the States, the number of slaves had augmented in number from about 600,000, at the date of the adoption of the constitution, to upwards of 4,000,000. The moral and social conditions which have been evolved from brutal savages into docile, intelligent and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts, but with careful instruction in the principles of religion and civility.

Under the supervision of a superior race, their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of the condition of the slaves, but to convert hundreds of thousands of the most degraded and ignorant of cultivated lands, covered with a prosperous people; towns and cities had sprung into existence, and had rapidly increased in wealth and population; the States of the South, the white population of the Southern slaveholding States had augmented from about 2,500,000 at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, to more than 8,500,000 in 1860; and the States of the South, by the production of rice, sugar and tobacco, for the development and continuance of which the labor of American slaves was, and is, indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three fourths of the exports of the United States, and became absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized men.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude, it is not surprising that the Southern States were driven, by the conduct of the North, to the adoption of some course of action to avert the danger with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the Southern States, in 1845, and 1846, were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation, by the States, of all their sovereign rights and powers; not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange indeed must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true, that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent in the minds of the people of the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government thus formed was not a compact between States, but was in effect a National Government, set up above and over the States, and having no other basis than the will of the majority.

The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive attention was directed to the early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render the common government subservient to their own purposes, by imposing burdensome and arbitrary taxes, and by the exercise of a power of taxation and appropriation to their manufacturing and shipping interests. Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other. And the danger of disruption arising from these causes was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing by immigration and other causes in a greater ratio than the population of the South.

By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, they taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as a majority to govern the minority without control; they learned to acquiesce in the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will; and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind, that in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts as an axiom, which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires that in all cases the majority shall govern; and that the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between a State and the United States to those which exist between a country and the State in which it is situated; and by which it is governed by law. This lamentable and fundamental error on which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

In addition to the long continued and deep seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping interests of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interest of such momentous importance, as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union, that its permanence was impossible.

When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the thirteen States, negro slavery existed and the right of property in slave was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave. The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa

was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date; and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress authorizing it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment or disadvantage of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the government.

The climate and soil of the Northern States proved unpropitious to the culture of the slave labor, whilst the converse was the case at the South. Under the unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections, the Northern States consulted their own interest by selling their slaves to the Southern States, and the Southern States, in turn, purchased of the Northern States, and paid the price of the acquisition without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by the action of the Northern States, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

As soon, however, as the Northern States prohibited African slavery within their limits had reached a number sufficient to give their representatives a controlling voice in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostility against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated, and gradually extended. A continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves; financial organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and insubordination, and inducing their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to rebellion; the constitutionality of their action to their owners was first evaded, then pronounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty; men were taught it was a merit to elude, disobey and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the premises of the slaveholders contained in the constitutional compact; owners of slaves were mobbed, and even murdered in open day, solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave; the property of these violent organizations obtained control of the legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed providing for the punishment by ruinous fines and long confinement in jails and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare to ask aid of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property.

Emboldened by success, the theatre of agitation and aggression against the slave States was transferred to the Congress; Senators and Representatives were sent to the National Councils of the nation, and the members of these bodies consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was, not to promote the general welfare or ensure domestic tranquility, but to awaken sectional animosity, and to excite the passions of the States by violent denunciations of their institutions; the transaction of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those States which held slaves to a condition of inferiority.

Finally a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, and the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain, acquired by all the States in the Union, and the exclusion of the slave States from the exercise of the right of suffrage, and surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited; and thus tendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and their value reduced to a few thousands of dollars.

This party, this party, this party, succeeded in the month of November last, in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

In the meantime, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care and attention for the well being and comfort of the laboring class, dictated alike by the principles of justice and humanity, and the necessities of the States, the number of slaves had augmented in number from about 600,000, at the date of the adoption of the constitution, to upwards of 4,000,000. The moral and social conditions which have been evolved from brutal savages into docile, intelligent and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts, but with careful instruction in the principles of religion and civility.

Under the supervision of a superior race, their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of the condition of the slaves, but to convert hundreds of thousands of the most degraded and ignorant of cultivated lands, covered with a prosperous people; towns and cities had sprung into existence, and had rapidly increased in wealth and population; the States of the South, the white population of the Southern slaveholding States had augmented from about 2,500,000 at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, to more than 8,500,000 in 1860; and the States of the South, by the production of rice, sugar and tobacco, for the development and continuance of which the labor of American slaves was, and is, indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three fourths of the exports of the United States, and became absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized men.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude, it is not surprising that the Southern States were driven, by the conduct of the North, to the adoption of some course of action to avert the danger with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the Southern States, in 1845, and 1846, were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation, by the States, of all their sovereign rights and powers; not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange indeed must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true, that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent in the minds of the people of the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government thus formed was not a compact between States, but was in effect a National Government, set up above and over the States, and having no other basis than the will of the majority.

The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive attention was directed to the early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render the common government subservient to their own purposes, by imposing burdensome and arbitrary taxes, and by the exercise of a power of taxation and appropriation to their manufacturing and shipping interests. Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other. And the danger of disruption arising from these causes was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing by immigration and other causes in a greater ratio than the population of the South.

By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, they taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as a majority to govern the minority without control; they learned to acquiesce in the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will; and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind, that in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts as an axiom, which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires that in all cases the majority shall govern; and that the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between a State and the United States to those which exist between a country and the State in which it is situated; and by which it is governed by law. This lamentable and fundamental error on which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

In addition to the long continued and deep seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping interests of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interest of such momentous importance, as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union, that its permanence was impossible.

When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the thirteen States, negro slavery existed and the right of property in slave was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave. The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa

The Banner.

J. J. STEWART, Editor. W. L. SAUNDERS, Proprietor.

SALISBURY, N. C.

TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1861.

Delegates to the State Convention.

We are authorized to announce that JAS. E. KERR and RICHARD A. CALDWELL, Esq., candidates to represent Rowan in the State Convention.

We are authorized to announce OBAIDIAH WOODSON, as a candidate for the office of County Clerk of Rowan County.

We are authorized to announce J. S. M. ERS, as a candidate for the office of County Clerk of Rowan County.

It is said that Maryland is over-awed, and that Federal troops have been permitted to pass through Baltimore on their way to Washington.

It is said that the Southern forces will be compelled to give up to the Federal troops Harper's Ferry, and the City of Alexandria. The reason is that they are not able to hold them.

Hon. John E. Ward, late U. S. Minister to China, arrived at his home in Savannah on Tuesday last.

It is reported that Andy Johnson, since returning to his home in Greenville, Tennessee, has expressed a desire to die.

Troops are still pouring in to Washington from all quarters of the North and West.

Maj. Anderson left Philadelphia for Washington on the 3d instant.

The following bills have been passed in the late extra session of the Legislature.

A bill authorizing County Courts and Corporations, to levy a tax for the support of their own soldiers.

A bill requesting the Governor to retain in the same office the military of the State, who held commission under the U. S. Government.

A bill removing the tax from weapons of personal defence—such as pistols and bowie knives.

A bill repealing the statute which requires an oath of officers to support the constitution of the U. S.

The ladies of Savannah have made 7,000 ball cartridges within a few days past.

There are now 2,500 volunteers under arms at Nashville, Tenn., and ready to march at a moment's notice.

The steamer Northern Light, from Aspinwall, has arrived at New York. The city of Medoza had been destroyed by an earthquake, and 8,000 people killed.

Messrs. Sharpe, Worth, and Joe Turner, voted against the Convention bill. All